

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 WARSAW 01181 171406Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13

L-03 NSAE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-07 /087 W

-----171408Z 078454 /43

R 171259Z FEB 77

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6603

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USMISSION NATO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE WARSAW 1181

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR PINT CSCE PL

SUBJ: ZYCIE WARSZAWY ARTICLE ON CSCE

1. ZYCIE WARSZAWY FEBRUARY 16 CARRIES AN ARTICLE BY JANUSZ REITER IN THE "FROM HELSINKI TO BELGRADE" SERIES, ENTITLED "BUILDING TRUST." REITER PRESENTS A MODERATE, BUT HOPEFUL, VIEW OF THE RESULTS OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. HE OFFERS STANDARD EASTERN CRITICISM OF WESTERN "FOES" OF DETENTE AND ARMS CONTROL, RESERVING SPECIAL MENTION FOR WEST GERMAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THE AMERICAN AND WEST GERMAN "MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES".

2. REITER SAYS THE FACT THAT THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 WARSAW 01181 171406Z

AT ALL WAS A VICTORY FOR THE POLICY OF DETENTE. "THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT ALL PROBLEMS MAGICALLY DISAPPEARED, BUT RULES OF PLAY WERE FOUND TO REPLACE THE FORMER POLICY OF MORE OR LESS OPEN POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONFRONTATION." HE CONDEMNS THOSE WHO SOUGHT POLITICAL ADVANTAGE FROM THE FINAL ACT BY SELECTIVE TREATMENT OF ITS ARTICLES AND BY "INTERPRETING CERTAIN FORMULATIONS IN A MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE VERY IDEA OF DETENTE." HE

SPECIFICALLY MENTIONS THE DISENCHANTMENT OF THOSE IN THE FRG WHO HOPED TO INSURE THE FUTURE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY BY INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL CHANGE OF BORDERS IN THE FINAL ACT.

3. REITER ALSO CONDEMNS THOSE WHO HOPED THAT THE AGREEMENT WOULD LEAD TO THE OPENING OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES TO WESTERN POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE. HE QUOTES FRENCH PRESIDENT VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING'S INTERVIEW WITH "LE FIGARO" TO THE EFFECT THAT "...THE GOAL OF DETENTE IS NOT TO FORCE CHANGES ON (EASTERN EUROPEAN) SYSTEMS, ITS GOAL IS MAKING POSSIBLE THE MAINTENANCE OF NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THEM". REFERRING TO WESTERN CRITICS OF HELSINKI WHO SAY IT WAS A "SECOND MUNICH", REITER SAYS THAT "FOR THOSE WHO UNDERSTOOD DETENTE AS A MEANS OF PRESSURE ON THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, THE BALANCE SHEET OF HELSINKI IS NOT FAVORABLE.

4. THE ARTICLE CRITICIZES AMERICAN AND WEST GERMAN "CIRCLES" WHICH ISSUE ALARMING REPORTS ON THE SOVIET ARMS BUILDUP. "THE INTENSIFICATION OF THIS MILITARY CAMPAIGN COMES ABOUT DURING A PERIOD OF REGROUPING OF FORCES IN THE TWO MOST INFLUENTIAL COUNTRIES OF THE WEST -- THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES. FIRST THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN, AND SOMEWHAT LATER, THE FIRST STEPS OF THE NEW WASHINGTON ADMINISTRATION -- ALL OF THIS BROUGHT ABOUT A COLLECTION OF PROMISES WHICH THE ENEMIES OF DETENTE WANTED AT ALL COSTS TO AVOID. THEY WANTED TO FORCE THE NEW GOVERNMENTS TO MODERATION (OF THEIR DETENTE POLICIES), TO FORCE UPON THEM A HARDER COURSE VIS-A-VIS THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES." REITER REFERS TO SOVIET SECRETARY GENERAL BREZHNEV'S TULA SPEECH AS PROOF OF THE SOVIET UNION'S PEACEFUL INTENTIONS.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 WARSAW 01181 171406Z

5. REITER SAYS THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT WAS ONLY THE FIRST STEP IN RESOLVING EUROPE'S POST-WAR PROBLEMS. THE NEXT MUST BE IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY DETENTE, SLOWING THE ARMS RACE, FORCE REDUCTION, AND, FINALLY, DISARMAMENT. THIS, HE SAYS, REQUIRES CONSTANT POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND THE SEARCH FOR NEW SOLUTIONS SUCH AS "THE NUCLEAR NON FIRST USE PROPOSAL", WHICH THE NATO COUNTRIES REFUSED TO CONSIDER DESPITE REPEATED WARSAW PACT APPEALS. HE CITES THE RECONVENING OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, CONDEMNING WEST GERMAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WHO CALL FOR "WESTERN INTRANSIGENCE" VIS-A-VIS THE EAST, AND PRAISING WILLY BRANDT'S APPEAL FOR PROGRESS IN MBFR. REITER ALSO SEES SOME HOPE FOR PROGRESS ON SALT II.

6. REITER CONCLUDES, "THE BALANCE SHEET FOR THE HELSINKI-TO-BELGRADE PERIOD IS NOT YET CLOSED. BUT THAT WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED IN EUROPE IN THE PERIOD OF DETENTE IS LASTING POLITICAL CAPITAL. THE MEETING IN BELGRADE WILL PERMIT ITS EXACT EVALUATION AND PERHAPS MULTIPLY IT. THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE MAY BE THE BEST OCCASION TO CLEAR UP PROBLEM AREAS ON A THOUGHTFUL AND FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE. ABOVE ALL, HOWEVER, IT IS NECESSARY TO

PROVIDE MUTUAL ASSURANCES THAT BOTH SIDES ARE BROADLY INTERESTED
IN FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE. AND ONCE AGAIN,
THERE MUST BE GOOD WILL AND TRUST, WITHOUT WHICH DETENTE IS ONLY
A DRY POLITICAL FORMULA."

7. COMMENT: REITER'S ARTICLE FOLLOWS THE GENERAL LINE ON THE
HELSINKI ACCORDS WHICH WE HAVE BEEN SEEING IN THE POLISH MEDIA
AND HEARING FROM POLISH OFFICIALS. THIS LINE HOLDS THAT HELSINKI
CANNOT BE USED BY THE WEST TO MEDDLE IN POLISH INTERNAL AFFAIRS
AND ASSERTS THAT THE FINAL ACT WAS ONLY THE FIRST STEP IN THE
LARGER PROCESS OF DETENTE, WHICH SHOULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO
DISARMAMENT. END COMMENT.
DAVIES

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 17-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977WARSAW01181
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770057-0040
Format: TEL
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770229/aaaabaaa.tel
Line Count: 129
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 08acffc4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3287237
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ZYCIE WARSZAWY ARTICLE ON CSCE
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PL, CSCE, (REITER, JANUSZ)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/08acffc4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009